

# REVUE HITTITE ET ASIANTIQUE

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## SOME ANATOLIAN ETYMOLOGIES

For J. A. Kerns, in gratitude

1. In this brief article, several new Anatolian etymologies are proposed. Even though I have attempted to avoid duplicating the work of others, it has been impossible to consult everything written on the Indo-European languages of Anatolia. Therefore, some of what follows may have appeared elsewhere. If that be the case, I beg the indulgence of the reader and offer my apologies to those scholars left unmentioned.

2. Luw. (acc. sg.) *palahšan* 'shield' seems to be cognate with Skt. *phālaka-m* 'shield, board, plank' and OIce. *fjöl* 'board, plank' (< Gmc. \**felō*). These can all be derived from an IE \**phel-* 'board, plank, shield'. Cf. Friedrich 1952: 155; Laroche 1959: 77; Pokorny 1959: 985 f.

3. Sturtevant (1951: § 64) compared Hitt. (nom-acc. sg.) *hurkel* 'horror, abomination, loathsome act' with OIr. *orgaim* 'to slay'. However, OIr. *orgaim* goes better with Hitt. (3 sg. pres.) *harakzi* 'to be destroyed' and Arm. *harkanem* 'to split, fell' from IE \**H<sub>2</sub>arĝ-*. As for Hitt. *hurkel*, it, along with Luw. *hurkil* 'crime' and (adj.) *hurkilašši-* 'criminal, unlawful', may be compared with Goth. *ga-wargjan* 'to condemn', *wargiþa* 'condemnation'; OE. *wiergan* 'to curse, revile', *wearg* 'outlaw, felon'; OHG. *warg* 'villain, criminal'; OIce. *vargr* 'wolf, outlaw'. We can reconstruct IE \**H<sub>2</sub>werĝh-*, \**H<sub>2</sub>urĝh-*. Hitt. (nom. sg.) *hurlaiš* 'curse' and (1 sg. pres.) *huwardaḥḥi* 'to curse' probably belong here also. This would make it impossible to connect *hurlaiš* with the following: Hitt. (3 sg. pres.) *weriyazi* 'to summon, name', Pal. (3 sg. pres.) *werti* 'to say, call', and Gk. εἶπω 'to say, speak' (< \**weriō* < IE \**wer-*). The lack of an initial laryngeal in *weriyazi* has always made comparison with *hurlaiš* suspect to begin with. Cf. Carruba 1970: 76; Feist 1939: 210 and 551; Friedrich 1952: 76 and 252; Laroche 1959: 48; Pokorny 1959: 1162 f.

4. Hitt. (nom-acc. sg.) *purul* 'mud, clay, plaster' and (nom-acc. sg.) *puruleššar* 'mud' go well with Lith. *puŗvas* 'mud' and Latv. *purvs* 'swamp'. Cf. Friedrich 1952: 174.

5. Hitt. (nom-acc. sg.) *kalmara* 'mountain' must be cognate with Gk. *κολωνός* 'hill, mound'; Lat. *collis* 'hill' (<\**col-nis*); OE. *hyll* 'hill' (<Gmc. \**χulni-z* <IE \**kľni-s*); Lith. *kálnas* 'hill, mound, mountain'. OSax. *holm* 'hill' (<IE \**kľmo-*) preserves the *m*-suffix found in Hittite. Cf. Friedrich 1952: 96; Pokorny 1959: 544.

6. Hitt. (acc. sg.) *kašlan* 'hunger' (instr. sg.) *kištantil* 'with hunger' (dat. sg.) *kišduwanti* 'hungry', (2 pl. imper.) *kešlanuttin* 'to quench' (3 sg. pres.) *kištari* 'to go out, be quenched' have long been problematical. Relationship to Toch. A *kašt*, B *kest* 'hunger', and A (2 sg. pres.) *kāšt* 'to be extinguished, go out' is beyond doubt. Of all the various etymologies proposed, the best seems to be that which connects the Hittite and Tocharian forms with the following (so Puhvel 1974: 292): Skt. *jāsate* 'to be exhausted, starved', *jāsvan-* 'hungry, needy', *jāsuri-* 'starved', (caus.) *jāśdyati* 'to cause to expire, exhaust, weaken'; Lith. *gèsti* 'to go out (a fire), be extinguished'; Latv. *dzist* 'to be extinguished, grow dark' (cf. here Toch. B adv. *kāstwer* 'by night'); OCS. *u-gasili* 'to go out, be extinguished'. The Sanskrit, Baltic, and Slavic forms are usually compared with Gk. *σβέννυμι* 'to quench, put out', (pass.) *σβέννυμαι* 'to be quenched, go out', *σβέσις* 'quenching, extinction', and *σβετός* 'quenched, extinguished'. However, the Greek forms raise special problems that make it seem unlikely that they belong here. Therefore, I think it best to remove the Greek forms from consideration and to reconstruct an IE \**ges-* 'to be extinguished, exhausted', without initial labiovelar, on the basis of the material from the other languages cited above. It should be noted that Brugmann (1967: I/1.590) thought it necessary to set up an IE \**segw-* with the derivatives \**zg<sup>w</sup>-ēs-*, \**zg<sup>w</sup>-ōs-*, \**zg<sup>w</sup>-ē-* (in aor. intr. *ἐσβην*) to account for the Greek forms, while Pedersen thought that the Indo-Iranian data required a parallel \**ġes-*. Cf. Friedrich 1952: 105 and 111 f; Pokorny 1959: 479 f.

7. Hitt. *kwera-*, *kura-* 'field, plain' and Lyd. *qira-* 'property, belongings' belong with Skt. *kārṣati* 'to plow', *karṣā-ḥ* 'furrow'; Av. *karšaiti* 'to plow' (= Skt. *kṛṣāli*), *karšū-* 'field', *karša-* 'furrow'. We can set up an IE \**k<sup>w</sup>er-* 'to plow; field, furrow'. Cf. Friedrich 1952: 113 and 117; Gusmani 1964: 187; Walde-Pokorny 1973: I.429.

8. Hitt. (nom. sg.) *kunnaš* 'favorable, good, right' and *kunnahh-* 'to make right' are cognate with Av. *spənta-* 'holy', Lith. *šveñtas* 'holy', and OCS. *svętŭ* 'holy'. These may all be derived from IE *\*kwen-*, *\*kun-* 'to make right; right, good, holy'. For the semantic development, cf. Skt. *pūnya-h* 'fortunate, pleasant, good, right, pure, holy, sacred'. Cf. Friedrich 1952: 116; Pokorny 1959: 630.

9. Hitt. (nom-acc. sg.) *kuššan* 'pay, fee, wages, price', (3 sg. pres.) *kuššaniyazi* 'to hire', (1 sg. pret.) *kušhaḫat* 'to pay, repay' are related to OE. *hȳrian* 'to hire' (<Gmc. *\*χūzya-*), *hȳr* 'hire, payment' OFris. *hēra* 'to hire', *hēre* 'hire, payment'; OS. *hūria* 'hire'; MLG. *hūren* 'to hire', *hūre* 'hire'. The Germanic forms contain -ū-, which is probably from earlier -uH-. Therefore, we must reconstruct an IE *\*kuHs-*. Cf. Friedrich 1952: 120.

#### 10. References:

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